1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

606
602
[195]

she sent word that we were to avoid each other, and so I must do it. She could have requested polite form only if she had wanted to, and we wouldn't have had to use that either if she had not requested it.

In a number of other cases the stepmother has not requested the avoidance.

602
597

A man may be called upon to avoid those who have adopted and reared his wife, even though they are no real kin of the girl. The initiative comes from the foster-parents, and ordinarily none but the foster-mother and foster-father of the woman will be involved. Such cases are rare, however, for almost always some relatives survive to care for an orphan child.

[736]

602

Where avoidance is not obligatory, there are a number of factors which may determine the decision. The closeness or remoteness of the relationship to the woman through whom the affinal bond is established is one of these. Thus, a sister of the wife's mother would be more likely to request avoidance than would the mother-in-law's female cousin, though both have the identical right theoretically. And, if a "first cousin" of the mother-in-law makes the request, it will still occasion no surprise, for she is considered a close relative of the bride. But if cousins of the mother-in-law beyond this range come forward with the demand, personal, less explicit reasons are likely to account for it.

When the two kin are very good friends, avoidance is likely to be the choice, for it is a means of honoring the wife by according the utmost respect to her mate. Since so much depends upon the manner in which intimacy has developed in the course of the years among kin, the reality may differ from the theoretical expectations. A mother's sister who has not got along too well with her niece may ask for no more than polite form from that relative's husband, whereas a mother's female cousin who happens to have the liveliest interest in the young woman may exercise full rights in the affinity situation. Accordingly, the selection of avoidance, where a choice exists, is evidence of approval of the union and of the principals to it.

Just as friendly backgrounds operate to establish avoidance understandings, so do opposite circumstances make them less

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602 likely. Where hostility has existed between the husband and the wife's relative in the past, avoidances which are not obligatory will certainly not be requested.

If the new affinity has formerly been on most familiar terms with the wife's relative, it is felt that the intimate knowledge implied makes difficult the formal behavior of an avoidance [195] obligation. Here, again, the polite form or less is deemed sufficient. Avoidance will also be waived when it is apparent that for some reason the two concerned are likely to be thrown together continually in situations where such behavior would be unfeasible.

Once avoidance has been established by choice, it is indistinguishable from avoidance begun automatically. Upon the marriage of his relative, the person who may exercise choice in respect to avoidance must come to an immediate decision. "There is no such thing as failing to avoid a certain relative-in-law for a number of years and then suddenly deciding to do it. The avoidance starts immediately after the marriage that makes it possible, or it does not occur at all." The decision to establish avoidance must be communicated to the relative at once, so that her husband will know what is expected of him and will not suffer the embarrassment of coming into the presence of one whom he should not see. If the husband and his wife's relative meet face to face before any notice is sent, it is very difficult to carry out the plan of avoidance:

B.'s wife is a distant relative of my wife. After I married I ran into her. I didn't know she was intending to hide from me. She didn't send any message to
[195] me. When she saw me she said, "I was going to hide from him, but now I'll just be polite in words" [use polite form].

602 606 586 *The continuation or termination of avoidance.*—Even after the death of the spouse through whom it was established, unless extraordinary steps are taken, avoidance continues. And if the widower marries a woman of another family, the avoidance obligations to his first wife's relatives still persist:

F. was married to M.'s daughter. She died eight years ago. There were no other girls for him to marry in M.'s family when his wife died. He married E.'s girl. He avoids both Mrs. M. and Mrs. E. now.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3] 607 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602
606
[195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any
[195] more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

602
606
587
[586] After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

195 193 602

Polite form.—Polite form is a special third-person singular or plural form of the verb attached to every paradigm. There is an ordinary third-person form, and so linguists distinguish between the two by labeling the polite form the "fourth person." Since the polite form, though it can be used in direct address, is essentially a third-person form, it necessarily injects a note of indirection into any conversation in which it is employed.

The presence of an avoided person, if he is within hearing, must be discreetly ignored, and direct address to him is ordinarily ruled out except for moments of crisis. At these times it is the polite form of speech which passes between the two. Whenever one avoidance affinity speaks of another, and this is much more common, the reference must be couched in the fourth-person form.

[601]

Since the common set of terms for affinal relatives is derived from the verb "to carry a burden," and since every paradigm has a fourth-person form as well as a regular third-person form, it follows that there are two ways of saying "affinity who has married into my family"—one polite and one ordinary—and two ways of saying "affinity into whose family I have married." The two terms of this set which are expressed in the fourth-person form are the ones used to denominate affinities who are avoided or to address those to whom polite form is used. The other pair is used of or to affinities with whom neither avoidance nor polite form has been inaugurated.

There are two other words in use to designate affinal relatives with whom avoidance or polite-form usages have been instituted. They, too, are taken from verbs and are fourth-person forms. Unlike the words of the other set, these two forms indicate the sex of the person to whom they are addressed. The term which singles out the male to whom polite form or avoidance is owed literally means "he who is old" and in a primary sense has the connotation of father-in-law. The other, in use to or of women of a comparable category and carrying the primary meaning of mother-in-law, can be translated as "she who has become old." The use of the two affinity systems overlaps. For instance, the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602 father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for
• 195 whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old."
[193] The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 It is evident that these observances are related to that same
195 economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:
596 I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to
[476] whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use
[426] the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often
195 masks repressed dislikes:
578 Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they
[293] don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Theoretically, all adult relatives of the wife who do not automatically avoid her husband may request polite form of him. There are some of these relatives who will almost certainly ask for polite form and others who probably will not. Among the former are those who might have been expected to request avoidance, but who, for some reason, did not. Any other course would advertise the poor opinion they have of their relative or of her new mate.

But there will be more distantly related kin of the wife who have had little intimate contact with her. When such individuals meet the man for the first time after his marriage, they may indicate the unchanged nature of the association by speaking pleasantly to him in the ordinary way. Most likely they will address the in-law term, "one who carries burdens for me," to him, but it will be the "regular" and not the "polite" term of the set that they will use.

As in the case of avoidance, where latitude in the matter exists and polite form is chosen nevertheless, it may be accepted as an evidence of friendliness and approval:

> A person who does not have to ask for avoidance or polite form but who does it anyway shows that he or she likes the relative and approves of the in-law. It shows approval of the marriage. I should be very proud, for many of the prominent men of the reservation use polite form to me.

The ages of some of the wife's relatives at the time of her marriage automatically prevent many polite-form usages (and avoidances too) from ever being established:

> A person could not request polite form from another until he or she was old enough to understand the custom, that is, until about eighteen years of age.[4]

> I don't talk in the polite way to S. He was little when I married his sister, so he couldn't ask for it. It's got to be started right away, so we have never talked in polite form all these years. . . . .

In fact, the relations established in lieu of polite form between a man and the younger members of his wife's extended family are

[4] The concept of the years of discretion, independence, and maturity has stretched with white contact. In purely aboriginal times an individual several years younger than the age mentioned would have been prepared to make decisions of this kind. But the substance of the statement would hold, doubtless, for preadolescents in aboriginal times.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602 likely to be really informal. These youngsters are among the few
•195 individuals of that group with whom the man does not have to exercise care in word and action, and he is soon on grounds of easy familiarity with them. This makes all the more impossible any establishment of future restraint relations with them.

The last statement implies another factor which controls polite-form decisions—the degree of past or present intimacy between the wife's relative and her husband.

If a relative of your wife doesn't want you to use polite form to him, perhaps it is because he likes you very much and wants to go with you as a partner. Then you'd have to sleep together when you were out camping, bathe together, relieve yourselves when you were together, and that would be all right only if he was not ashamed of you in words. If the polite relationship exists, you can't undress, urinate, or do anything personal like that in his presence. If you ever go out with your wife's brother on a hunt and there is only flat country around and no place to hide, the shame relationship would make it hard on you. So, often, the polite form is not entered into for practical reasons.

[601] C. called my father "cousin" [father's brother's son, in this case]. I call C.'s daughter "cousin." When she married, I could have used polite form to her husband. Then he would have had to use it to me. But I did not want to, because we had been pretty intimate. He would have had to act reserved, and it was hard to put him in that position after what had taken place.

But, once it is started, polite form cannot be casually terminated. [586] "If your wife's brother wants to change his relationship with you, your wife would object, and a thing like this might even break up the marriage. You can't quit or change in the middle."

602 In reference to the perpetuation of the polite form beyond the
195 life-span of the connecting relative and after divorce, there are
586 these dicta:

We use these forms and usages as long as these people to whom we are acting in this way live. Even if a man's wife dies, this goes on.

We keep up polite forms even after the death of the wife. In case of divorce, polite form continues too.

Polite form is terminated even less frequently than avoidance. If total avoidance becomes an intolerable burden, after a death or divorce it may be scaled down to polite form. But if polite form were discarded, there would be a return to familiar relations

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *bilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

602 • 195

Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Another quotation extends this information: 602 195 844

> If she is asked to start it [polite form] with the boy's brothers, she can never marry one of them. The reason given for not using polite form to the boy's mother is that his mother may be required to be at the birth of the child of her daughter-in-law, and it would not be right for her to have such intimate dealings with the girl if she used the polite form to her. At the birth of a child, no one who uses polite form to the mother is around.

Other statements explain that the collateral relatives of the husband's grandparents but not the grandparents themselves, may request polite form. It appears that the classes of affinities that expect avoidance from the husband are the very ones which, in the woman's affinal constellation, refrain from making even the polite-form request. None of these polite-form usages is obligatory, it should be noted. This time the initiative comes from the husband's relatives. The same sets of terms are utilized; it is the young woman who is called "one who carries burdens for me" by her affinity and who calls her husband's relative "one for whom I carry burdens." 602 195 [601]

Again, the usage, to be effective, must begin at once. "I could have used polite form to my cousin's wife. It's too late now. I didn't start it from the beginning. My cousin could have used the polite form to my wife, but he didn't either."

In determining whether he will make the request for polite form of the wife, each member of the husband's relationship group is guided by considerations of age, degree of past intimacy, and closeness of connection to the linking relative—the same factors operative in the man's avoidance and polite-form obligations. Polite form between the woman and her affinal relative, once started, also is supposed to continue indefinitely, regardless of the disturbance of the union by divorce or death. [586]

A woman's obligations to her affinities at marriage are slight compared with those to which her husband is subject, but their existence does serve to indicate that she owes consideration to her husband's kin and can never entirely eliminate them from her plans. Their claim upon her is most fully realized at the death of her mate when they can force her to accept a brother or a cousin of the deceased in his stead. 602 [587]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.

When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.

They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.

So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open, and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

595 in the same dwelling. If one has a baby, he sleeps with the one who has no baby."

595 602 The motive force toward sororal polygyny, of course, is the obligation which the man owes his first wife's parents. Should they permit him to marry a second wife from another family, they would, in effect, be agreeing to share his time and services:

> If a man wants a second wife, he is not free to marry anyone who appeals to him. His first obligation and duty are to his wife's family. If his wife has any sisters or female cousins who are eligible, he would have to marry one of them rather than go outside the family. If he wants to marry outside nevertheless, he has to get permission from that family. He would never make such a request unless he suspected that the family does not care much about him anyway. Even if the wife's family does not have any eligible girls, as a matter of courtesy he should state his intentions and ask permission. The great obligation of a man to his wife's family guides him in all his actions. Therefore, the second wife is usually the sister of the first.

595 But, for one reason or another, it is often impossible to establish sororal polygyny:

> Sometimes a man takes the sister of his wife as his second wife. But it does not always happen that way. It's pretty well divided. N. had two wives who were not sisters. Another man has two wives who are sisters. There are a good many cases where the women are not sisters. C. had three wives at one time. One is left now. They were not sisters. G. had four at one time; none of them were sisters.

595 607 •195 Whether sororal polygyny can be arranged depends in large measure on the ages of the wife's sisters when the husband joins the family and on the relations which they initially establish with him:

> If the sister of your wife wants to, she can hide from you. Usually she doesn't do this though. She can use polite form to you if she wants to. If she starts this, you probably will never marry her, at least while your wife is alive. Only a grown girl would use the polite form to you. Using the polite form is not a matter of liking a person only; it is a matter of respect. And when you have this respect relationship between you, you aren't going to get friendly and intimate to the point where she can become a second wife.
>
> But if a sister of your wife is quite young when you marry and she doesn't use polite form to you and grows up around you, sees you without your shirt, and under all conditions, she isn't going to use polite form to you when she grows up. She is too friendly with you for that. Then you can marry her all right. . . . .

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

to him by a messenger with the words that after that they would not have to be ashamed before each other. If the man accepts the cigarette, he no longer has to avoid her and is free to marry her. 587 602

If she has not been avoiding him but was just using polite form to him, she could offer the cigarette herself, saying that thereafter the polite form would not be necessary. If he accepts it, all would be as before. [195]

Even when the family to which a man is "bound" has no girl to offer in place of the deceased, the man must act with the greatest of respect until he is formally freed:

If his father-in-law has no more daughters, the husband will want to marry out of the family after a while. He will say, "I am young and I wish to marry. I respect you and your family, but you have no more daughters for me." He has to get permission to marry out. If the old man refuses permission, even if he has no more daughters, the young man will have to obey. The old man, the father-in-law, is the boss. When the young man gets permission he goes off to another encampment and marries there. [606]

An excellent example of the spirit in which an understanding is reached and of the speeches that pass back and forth before the widower regains his freedom of action is provided in this account:

If, after my wife's death, my mother-in-law has any more daughters and she likes me, she will send one of them, and I'll marry her. But if she has only sons, and finally I feel that there is some other woman I want to marry, I talk to my brother-in-law, if he is old enough, and I say, "I have had a hard time, but now I want to marry again. You have no other girls for me to marry, and now I am ready to marry again."

Then he will go and tell his mother, and the next day he will come back and say, "What has happened has happened. It can't be helped. If we had anybody to give you, we'd give you a woman. You have been good to us, and we hate to have you part from us, but there is no help for it. We hope you will get a good girl and be happy." After this you are not under obligation to your mother-in-law.

The levirate.—The existence of the levirate does not give a man any extraordinary privileges with the wife of his brother or male cousin while these relatives are still alive: 587 607 605

In the right way a man is supposed to have great respect for his cousin's wife. You should leave your brother's wife alone and your cousin's wife alone too. They call you a witch if you do otherwise. Only when people get very old do they joke a little when they are related like this—people of R.'s age [sixty-five to seventy] might, but never the young people.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

524 Sometimes the one who is hiding the bone does not put it in a moccasin but under his arm. When he does this, it doesn't count against the other side if they fail to guess where it is. The hider is doing this just so his luck will come back to him. He does it when the other side has been getting the bone too easily. But if someone on the other side thinks you have got it hidden on you, instead of striking, the one who is guessing for the other side says, "You have it." Then you have to hand it over to him if he's right; your side loses the bone.

Another manner of play is to penalize upon discovery the one who conceals the bone in this way. "If a player, instead of hiding the bone in a moccasin, conceals it on his person, he will, if discovered, lose ten points for every move made by the opposing side before the discovery of the trick."

The moccasin game has given rise to several less elaborate forms of play of the same general character and bearing the same name:

When a few get together, we sometimes play with four heaps of sand and a marble. We follow the same way of counting as in the moccasin game, and we call this a moccasin game, too.

Then there is one game where a marble is hidden in one hand or the other, and the other fellow has to guess where it is. We don't keep moving our hands around when we are playing this. We just hide it and let the other side guess.

They also play a game in which a small stick is hidden behind one of the four fingers of the hand. All these are called moccasin games.

INVECTIVE

191 195 578 773 A curse is a grave affront because of the acknowledged potency of verbalism. The general respect for the efficacy of words has its roots in traditions of the early period of mankind's existence:

"At this time, anything that they said occurred in exactly that way. Anything of which one said: 'It is to happen so,' happened in just that way. For that reason one did not say just anything to someone. If one spoke in that way to someone one hated, it happened in exactly that way. . . . . They spoke only in a very good way."[11]

After the flood there were many, many Indians [Chiricahua]. These Indians were very religious. They were careful how they used their language. They wouldn't ever dare to say, "I wish that dog would bite you," or, "I wish that coyote would get you." They wouldn't ever dare say things like that. They were afraid to tell lies.

[11] Hoijer, *Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts*, p. 18.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

This fear of the expression of evil wishes is an aspect of the belief that what is fervently voiced, for good or for evil, is likely to occur. It is a conception which gives point alike to the faith in the "good words" of ceremonialism and to the dread of "witch talk." 191 195 578

Invective is graduated from those exclamations and phrases which arouse mild resentment to those which are considered unforgivable insults. Rather innocuous, and directed as often at a situation as at a person, is an inexplicable cry of frustration, "Knife and awl!" "You're no good!" is likely to bring a more positive reaction if it is directed at a person. It is a stinging rebuke and challenge to be told, "You're no man!" Quite as insulting is it to tell a person, "You are trashy!" or, "Even though you are trashy, you ought to try to restrain yourself." Serious imprecations which rankle and are keenly resented have to do with death wishes and the underworld. "May an enemy [white man] kill you!" is one of these. The most common of this type is the malediction, "Go to the underworld!" "When some people get angry, they say, 'Go to the underworld!' It's just like telling a person to go to hell. That kind of talk is very bad and strong. People get killed for saying such a thing. You are considered to have a witch mouth if you talk like this." 195 578

Other curses have sexual or scatological implications: "A bad word is one that means 'your excrement!' If you use it to anyone, it will surely make him furious, and he might kill you for it." An incitant to physical violence is the threat, "I'll squeeze you so hard that I'll make your excrement move out!" An abusive phrase which was described as "the dirtiest cuss word in the Chiricahua language" inelegantly labels one's parents witches: "You for whom the witches copulated!" 195 578 831

But, in the eyes of many, the gravest insult is a combined curse and gesture, the ultimate in indignant response of a very angry woman: 195 578 831

If a woman gets very angry at anyone, she will double up her right fist with the palm up, put her thumb between the first and second fingers, and then open the fingers suddenly in the direction of another person, saying at the same time, "Smell this!" A man dreads this! It's just like shooting a man. It shows contempt. The word refers to her vagina. 201

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

195 578 201 But men, too, use this gesture and the same expression upon occasion, and it is still more vitriolic if one man levels it at another:

At Fort Sill in 1910 one man was swearing at another in every way. The other man said nothing that night. The next morning he came up to the one who had cursed him. He was making the woman's gesture of contempt. He said, "You spoke bravely last night. Now let's see what you can do."

They fought. The one who had started the trouble the night before went down. The one on top took dirt and sticks and grass and hit him on the mouth with them saying, "Now you won't use such bad language perhaps!"

When a person is goaded to action by insult or abuse, there is an exclamation that warns of the attack to come:

There is an expression of rage, "*ahagahe!*" It means that a man has stood for as much as he is going to. When you hear that, you know that the man is going for his weapon and will fight it out. The word has no literal meaning.

195 578 562 In keeping with their assertions concerning the greater peevishness of women in comparison to men, a number of male informants have insisted that women are quicker to make use of these inflamatory phrases:

As a general rule in the old days, Chiricahua men didn't curse. The women did most of the cursing. There were very few bad words. Then if you said, "You coyote!" or "Your excrement!" that was very, very bad. Cursing was brought [177] in by the white people. Now the woman doesn't talk that way, and the man does. A big change, isn't it!

ANTISOCIAL CONDUCT

577 771 183 In the eyes of his fellows the moral person is one who heeds the social conventions and discharges his obligations in obedience to the tribal ethic.

[755] Ceremonies for curing are religious. But these have nothing to do with morals. You can have a ceremony performed over you and drink and do what you please.

The Chiricahua religion is directed toward long life, good health, and things like that. In the Chiricahua way, I can't see how religion has anything to do with living right, as long as a person is not a witch and is not trying to use his ceremony for meanness. Religion might be a good thing all right, but I know from experience with my people that it didn't take that to make a person good.

Good conduct is the result of obeying the customs, and it is up to the person. It has nothing to do with religion. A man would come to a bad end in the old days because he violated the customs. It's just a matter of a man looking out for his own welfare. If you obey all the rules, you get along all right in Chiricahua

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD

761 [195] THE topic of death is sedulously avoided. The regular term for death is seldom used; the approved euphemism "he is gone" is employed instead.[1] When an informant was asked whether his people had any death songs, his 761 533 emphatic reply was:

> There are no death songs for the Chiricahua. Our war songs urge the men to go forward all the time. Death wouldn't be mentioned. If a Chiricahua man [535] heard a word about death in there during a war dance, he would stop dancing. [926] He would go to a man with a ceremony for war and have him sing his songs and find out what it meant. Some men would back right out as soon as they heard anything like that. They'd be afraid that the fight would turn against them if that bad word was said in there.

764 But, when death does strike, a formal pattern of thought and procedure exists to make possible the requisite material and psychological adjustments.

The data already presented concerning the owl, the ghost, and ghost sickness[2] have paved the way for a summary of the characteristics of the burial practices:

> When a person dies, his close relatives pull their good clothes off. They tie any old thing around themselves to keep themselves covered and warm. It is [765] sometimes a month before they dress in good clothes again. Members of the family cut their hair; the women wail; the men cry.
>
> [202] A few minutes after death (whether a man or a woman has died) a close male relative may go out of doors and shoot off a good many cartridges in the air. He doesn't shoot in any special direction. Any male relative can do it. I don't know exactly why it is done; no one seems to be sure. But I think that this has to do with the importance of the person who has died. It tells the rest of the people that someone of standing has died. N. was a leader. When his mother died, he

[762] [1] In spite of the great terror surrounding death, suicides occasionally occur when life becomes unbearable. Individuals have committed suicide when captured by the enemy, when stunned with grief at the loss of a child or some other close relative, or as a result of marital strife.

[2] See pp. 14–15, 229–37, 301–5.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one 551 of the most rigid injunctions forbids the mention of the name of 765 the recently deceased. If the dead person must be mentioned, a qualifying phrase provides a safeguard:

[152] There should be no mention of a dead person. To mention the name of the dead reminds relatives of him and makes them feel bad; it only causes sorrow. Besides it might prove dangerous. To call the name of a dead person at any time is bad, and especially after dark.

• [195] We are instructed, in case it is necessary to use the name of the dead, to put a word after the name which means "who used to be called." Another way is to say "the one who used to be a relative of So-and-So." The avoidance of the name is not observed only before the relatives of the dead person. It is a general observance.

When an elder of the family, who has been in close contact with the children, dies, their names are changed:

The children of the family get different names then. The person who has died has called the children by this name that is being dropped; that is why they don't want it used any more. The older people don't have their names changed because of this, however.

If the relative who suggested one's name dies, that name is sure to be changed: "'Little' was my first name. Later a name was given to me by my grandmother. When she died, it was changed."

When a person who is named after something of common reference dies, the people are reluctant to use the term for a long time after the death. "They are especially careful around the [195] relatives." Circumlocutions and synonyms are employed until [601] the danger period is past. Even the use of relationship terms is [152] restricted because their utterance might stimulate painful memories or ghost anxieties:

If you have two relatives that you call by the same relationship term and one of them dies, you don't call the other by this term for a while. You call him by his name until the dead person is forgotten. Then you can use the relationship term to him again.

765 Those outside the relationship group in which a death has 578 occurred must exercise the greatest care not to arouse the resent- 822 ment of the bereaved:

What the relatives do not like if a person dies is to see in the next few days anyone wearing a red dress, a red shirt, a red headband, or red clothes of any kind. It hurts the feelings of those who have lost their relative to see this. If a

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[8]

8. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

755
756
778
789
539

sickness. If the sick one was witched, he would not try it but would tell to whom it was best to go to have it taken out.[7] If it was just a matter of sickness he could do it himself.

This man, while he was in Oklahoma, was riding along. He did many things he ought not to have tried. He took out objects of witchcraft. This Apache's power warned him not to touch the witch and not to try it. He was told he was going up against a rock he could not go through. He saw a big tree in the open. The tree asked him to move it to a place he liked better. He could not do it. It was just like that. And Power showed him in another way. It showed him a mountain. He asked it to move, but it would not move. It was like that. He did not have the power to do it.

"We cannot bother witches," his power told him. But he went on and held the ceremony. He held it for two days. At the end of the two days he tried to pull it out.[8] He was up against it. He couldn't do a thing.

His power told him. "You're going to take it out next time but you're going to give your life for that boy."[9]

So he pulled it out. But it stuck in him. And the ceremony was over. The boy got well, but in four days this man got sick.

One friend who loved him hired a very powerful man to cure him. Everybody knew this man. He was Old Man Dick. Dick sang over him for six days and couldn't get him back to his senses. Then he got very angry. The last ceremony of the seventh day and night he said, "I'm going to send my power to help the one who is going away from us, and I don't think he will go away."[10] And he can have my power and we'll carry on together and do nothing but good in this world."

[7] In other words, he acted as a diagnostician in cases of witchcraft. That the Navaho had diagnosticians is well known; that they existed also among the Chiricahua and other Apache groups is less well understood.

[8] Shamans cured the victims of witches by extracting from their bodies objects of witchcraft which had been "shot" into them by the evildoers.

[9] That is, he succeeded only in transferring the cause of the sickness from the boy to himself.

[10] A euphemism for dying.

[171]
[195]